

Magazine Feature Section

JUGO SLAVIA, a new country— this is hope of slavs in European war

**Prayer of Oppressed People
Is That End of Struggle Will
Find Various Slavic States
United In a Government
Strong Enough to Hold Its
Own—Many Nations of
Europe Are Thus United By
Ties of Blood and Friendship**

Will the end of the European war see the Slavic nations united into one kingdom powerful enough to shake off the yoke of the oppressor Austria, or will it find them more than ever in the hands of their oppressors?

Serbia, Croatia, Carniola, Herzegovina, Montenegro and the various other races that form what is known as Jugo-slavia are in hopes that they will come out of the conflict free from Austrian and Italian dictation and that the reorganization of the old world will find them again in possession of their freedom in a United Kingdom that will be strong enough to uphold its rights.

Serbs, Croats and Slavonians, known under the collective name of Jugo-slavs, are one and the same nation, speaking the same languages, but under Austrian rule broken up into Serbia and Montenegro and numerous other provinces in the south-eastern part of Austria-Hungary; the true kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia, the provinces of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Carniola; greater portions of the provinces of Istria, Trieste, Gorizia-Gradiška, Carinthia and Styria and finally the Jungoslav zone of Hungary proper.

The Southern Slav patriot has said that no greater misfortune has befallen the Southern Slavs than to pass under dominion of civilized Austria. Had they been obliged to share the fate of their brothers, the Serbs and the Bulgarians, they would certainly have tasted all the misery of the Turkish yoke, but today they would be free, as an independent state with a right to their own national intellectual development. The one thing Turkey has left untouched in the Serbs and the Bulgars—the heart of the people—is the very thing that Austria has sought to destroy in her Southern Slav subjects. Turkish captivity has steeled the hearts of the Slavs she oppressed, but Austrian captivity has coddled them and made them effete.

THE PESSIMISTS' VIEW.
In many respects this pessimistic view is justified. The struggle of the Southern Slavs for national life has passed through many phases, and has exhausted itself in many more. The Croats have elected, after the extinction of their royal family in 1102, the King Koloman of Hungary for their own. After the passing away of the house of Arpad, they elected independently of Hungary, Ferdinand I of Habsburg as their ruler (in 1527). By their own free will they adopted the Pragmatic Sanction of 1712, by which they approved the accession of female, where there was no male, as heir to the throne. For centuries the Southern Slavs stood under the protection of "Heavenly might," and his motto was, "For Faith and Freedom." During the time of Turkish power the Croat has acquired a noble name, "Ante-murale Christianitas" (out-works of Christianity), for his courageous watching over the prosperity of Christianity and the culture of Europe.

As a distinctly autonomous state, Croatia dealt with Austria and Hungary on the principle of equality, and she was recognized as such so long as she was needed for their defense.

The whole south of the dual monarchy is inhabited by Slavs. The kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, with the Duchy of Carniola, Istria and Bosnia-Herzegovina—these comprising a population of over 7,000,000—belong almost exclusively to one race. Whereas in all other countries of the monarchy the different races are represented in varying percentages, the non-Slav population in Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina amounts only to about 5½ per cent in Carniola and Istria to 4 per cent, and in Dalmatia only to 2 per cent. The considerable number of Croats and Slovenes (750,000) living in South Hungary must be added to the above mentioned 7,000,000.

BROTHERS OF THE SERBS.
Ethnologically speaking, the inhabitants of all these countries form one people, and are a brother nation to the Serbs in the Kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro. Their language, customs, historical past achievements in art, science and literature are identical. The sole difference between them is that the Croats and Slovenes are Catholics, while part of the inhabitants of Bosnia-Herzegovina are Mohammedans. Those confessing the Serbo-Orthodox faith also own to the national name and call themselves Serbs. This compact and homogeneous national body would certainly have become a most important factor in the monarchy had they not been cut in

two by administrative policy. Here, as elsewhere throughout all her dominions, Austria has applied her principle of dividing and dismembering, and the Southern Slav provinces were shared between two spheres of power. Croatia and Slavonia were allotted to the Hungarian; Carniola, Dalmatia and Istria to the Austrian sphere, and a mixed Austrian and Hungarian administration was introduced in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This system made a unanimous political rally of the Southern Slavs quite impossible, and provided German and Magyar propaganda with a manageable field of operations. In both spheres unremitting efforts were devoted to the task of eliminating the Southern Slav element, stifling Slav thought, and transforming the Slavs into slaves.

CONSIDERATION FOR HUNGARY.

But the Southern Slav is endowed with unusual tenacity; the most zealous efforts on the part of the government were frustrated by his dogged resistance, and they merely defeated their own ends. German "kultur" and Magyar lack of culture were held in equal abomination by the Slav nations, upon whom they were to be inflicted, and the ruthless spoliation to which they were likewise subjected engendered a deep-seated animosity. The Northern Slavs, who possess more practical business capacity than the Southern, did not allow themselves to be economically strangled, and even contrived to hold their own in this respect; whereas, the Southern Slavs, being mainly an agricultural people, found themselves the helpless victims of Austrian and Hungarian rapacity. Dalmatia, one of the loveliest spots in Europe, has for the last century known no privilege ex-

cept that of paying taxes, and Austria's mal-administration of that country has become proverbial.

Croatia and Slavonia fare little better. They have to pay 56 per cent of their revenues to Hungary. This tax figure under the head of "contributions to mutual interests," chiefly represented by the railways and the postal system. The net annual income from these two sources amounts to 250,000,000 crowns, but of this Croatia never receives a penny! The net profit all goes to Hungary, who brazenly employs it as a subvention to the Magyar propaganda in Croatia. The condition of Carniola and Istria is almost as deplorable as that of Dalmatia, and in Bosnia and Herzegovina the Austria-Hungarian Government has for thirty-five years built villages "after the pattern of Potchkin," for the education of foreign journalists, while the people have been left to starve, or sink into poverty and ignorance.

The numerous foreign tourists who have traveled in these beautiful countries have seen nothing of Austria's "work of civilization," as they are kept to the beaten tracks specially prepared for them, and they only see the country like a carefully staged panorama on the films of the Imperial and Royal Picture Show!

THE POLITICAL HORIZON.

It is much easier to understand why the political horizon in the southern corner of Europe is always clouded if one is given a clearer view of the chartered rights, as opposed to the actual position held by the Southern Slavs in the monarchy; but this view is not usually obtained through the official channels of Vienna and Budapest. According to these, all ancient charters of liberty are so many "scraps

of paper," and the actual law merely the right of the strongest. The Hapsburgs did not come as victors, with the rights of conqueror to the Southern Slav provinces. They became rulers of these countries in virtue of voluntary treaties, and they themselves issued manifestos and bulls, in which the integrity and independence of the Southern Slav countries are incontestably guaranteed. Centuries ago, while the Hapsburg dynasty was endangered by constant wars, and especially during the Turkish invasion, these guarantees were faithfully observed. But with the altered conditions of affairs the Southern Slavs had to wage a bitter struggle for their rights.

The history of these provinces during the past generation is one of neglect and misgovernment. Croatia has been exploited by the Magyars, and the narrow interests of Budapest have prevented railway development and hampered local industries by skillful manipulation of tariffs and taxation. A further result is that even today Dalmatia has no railway connection with the rest of Europe, and those of Bosnia are artificially directed towards Budapest, rather than towards Zagreb, Vienna and Western Europe.

NOW A CHAOS.

The national problem which the Congress of Vienna bequeathed to posterity may be seen at a glance by looking at a political map of Europe in 1815. The entire center of the Continent from Ostend to Palermo, and from Königsberg to Constantinople, was left a political chaos. There were, roughly speaking, ten great nationalities—the Germans, the Italians, the Belgians, the Poles, the Bohemians, the Hungarians, the Southern Slavs, the

Roumanians, the Bulgarians and the Greeks—all left with national aspirations unsatisfied, all hampered by state frontiers which had no correspondence with their natural boundaries. Can we wonder that there have been wars in the nineteenth century? Therefore, having failed to get their independence through settlement by conference, they used the alternative to it, and that is "blood and iron," and it is with "blood and iron" that nearly every nationality, which has attained nationhood in the last century, has cemented the structure in its state.

Belgium and Greece were the first ones to rise and secure their present liberties. Then came 1848, the wonderful year of modern history. In a course of a few weeks the established order seemed everywhere to be crumbling to pieces. The Czechs, the Magyars, the Germans, the Italians rose against the paralyzing encumbrance of the Hapsburg autocracy.

And the seed of 1848 secured the formation of United Italy in the form of a constitutional monarchy. In 1871, a federal government was established in Germany. The Hungarian portion of the Austrian dominion achieved national recognition and institutions. Roumania and Servia were declared sovereign powers independent of Turkey; Bulgaria achieved a recognition as a principality, and Montenegro became a

recognized state. Norway became an independent constitutional monarchy, and at last, the Balkan war brought the accession to the Balkan States of a new territory.

CAUSE OF BRUTALITY.

Inability of the government to get the majority of the representatives for their unconstitutional ruling was a cause for the policy of brutal imperialism then inaugurated which remained in force to this day. From 1883 to 1903 Count Carl Khuen-Hedervary was Ban of Croatia, and the twenty years of his administration have been the blackest period as regards political, economic and personal freedom.

Countless Magyar schools were scattered throughout the country to promote the denationalization of the people; espionage and secret police flourished as in Darkest Russia. The archives of the state with the constitutional charters of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia were incorporated with the state archives in Budapest, and, last but not least, the agreement itself was falsified by the passing of a ship of paper over the specification of Fiume as a "corpus separatum adnexae rex," converting it into a "corpus separatum adnexae Hungariae," whereby this important Croatian seaport became exclusively Hungarian property. Twenty years' martyrdom of Croatia un-

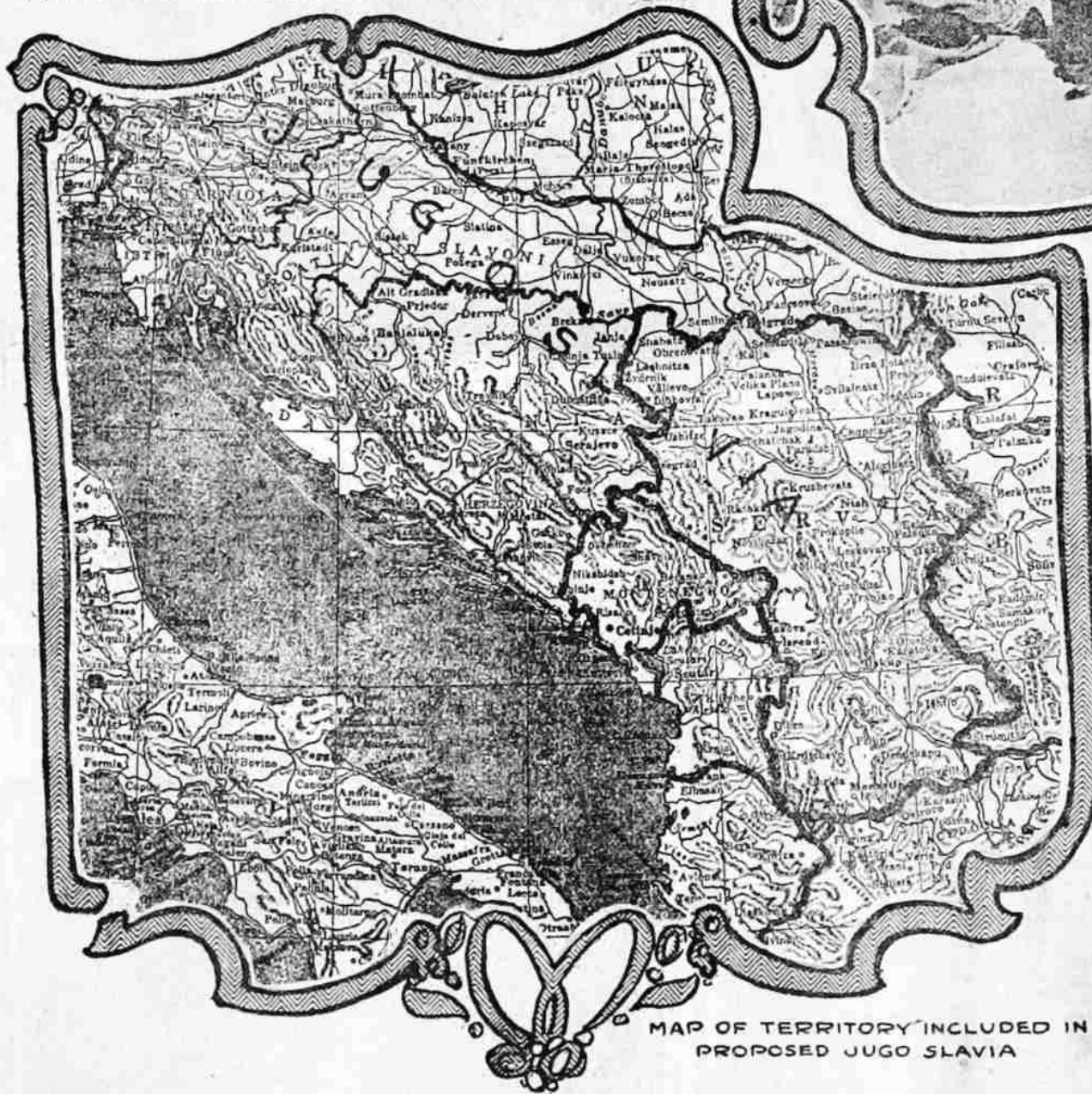
der his administration had not enervated the nation; on the contrary, they grew strong through adversity; and steadfastly went forward towards their goal. Khuen-Hedervary's bribery, intimidation, everlasting trials for high treason, prison and the gallows, all these had only incited them to further resistance.

In 1903, the whole country rose in rebellion as one man, and Khuen-Hedervary's power was broken. Even he had to admit that his twenty years' rule of ruthless oppression had merely defeated its own object (denationalization of Croats), that it had united the people whom he had sought to weaken and strengthened that which he had hoped to destroy.

In the following ten years six administrative heads were changed, some of them reigning for only two months. The popular rising of 1903 opened new channels for the national struggle; it was also the prelude to the hardest and bitterest time that the Southern Slavs have yet been called upon to face. Two years later in the election of 1905 the opposition parties won a brilliant victory. Not one government candidate was returned. The sessions of these parliaments were very short because the deputies refused to pass such government bills which were against the interest of the people, and there are very, very few for the people.



SERBIAN RESERVES AWAITING CALL TO THE FIRING LINE



MAP OF TERRITORY INCLUDED IN PROPOSED JUGO SLAVIA



SERBIAN SOLDIERS RESTING INSIDE FORTRESS AFTER A CHARGE